1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

(36, vol. 1, p. 301) refer to a Tongan king, apparently about the twentieth Tui Tonga, who was a cannibal. An unusual form of cannibalism is revealed in the story of the Tui Tonga Takalaua and Kauulufonua I. Two assassins were carved to pieces alive and their raw flesh served as relish for the kava drinking (26, p. 34). Bamboo knives were used as carvers. A story about the deity Hikuleo (op. cit. p. 192) refers also to the carving alive of children for food. See page 312 for the reference to a cannibal god of Samoa who was ultimately slain himself and eaten by the son of a Tui Haa Takalaua.

ENTERTAINMENT

Tongan entertainments have been well described by Cook and subsequent writers. By far the best general account of Tongan dances is given by Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 74-86). Some scraps of additional information are presented here.

At the wedding of the present queen of Tonga the following dances were performed: the *kailau*, an Uvean dance by men, in which small paddles called *kaupaki* are used; *maululu*, a Samoan dance; *meke*, a Fijian dance; *tau fakaniua*, a Niuatoputapu dance; *lakalaka*, a Tongan dance, in which the women were seated, the men standing. Every village put on a *lakalaka*. The songs accompanying some of the dances told about the queen's wedding. The songs of the Vavau people told about a recent famine there.

At an entertainment which I attended at Taunga, April 2, 1921, a poetic reference was made by a poet and his chorus to a visit I had made in the forenoon of the day to the great vault tomb of hapless Talafaiva, wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (26, p. 37). Whether the poet spoke extemporaneously or whether he knew of my intended visit, the reference was cleverly made.

This entertainment, which was a picnic, was given us by the Governor of Vavau, but the refreshments and entertainment were actually furnished by Akauola, the matapule who holds Taunga as a fief from the king. About twenty Taunga girls danced. They were seated in a row on mats outside the sunshelter under which the food was served. The costumes were varied, consisting of leaves and flowers sewed to cloth and tapa, also bright colored cloth garments. Plumes of red and blue material and guinea-hen feathers were worn in the hair of some of the dancers. The exposed portions of the body were oiled.

All were sitting dances with the exception of two which seemed to be endurance contests. They were performed by pairs of girls, a man joining in apparently to urge on the girls. In one of these dances the feet were

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

often crossed and the turnings were made with a jump. In the other dance one girl ended by slapping the under side of her legs with each step, making a very effective finale.

The dances performed seated consisted entirely of movements of trunk, hands, and head, usually accompanied by song. Behind the row of dancers was a chorus of eight or ten men with a skin-headed drum. The director and poet was a man. Spectators showed their approval of the movements of two girls by tying either a sash or a handkerchief around their left arms while the dance was in progress.

Each variation of a sitting dance seems to have a name.

Tapueluelu, Mayor of Neiafu, Vavau, listed six dances, any of which might be used before war: *meetuupaki; lave; ulafakatonga; lakalaka,* modern form of *meetuupake; otuhaka,* woman's sitting dance; *mauluulu,* women in front, men in back standing at certain stages when moving their hands; *liku*[11] dance, in which only chief women took part, either nude or wearing only garlands and a very short *sisi* girdle of hibiscus or grass about the waist, and carrying small paddles.

No doubt the vocabulary in connection with entertainments was rich, but unfortunately I have only examples that hint at the probable wealth of terms; thus the word *fakapotu* means "pertaining to the two ends in a row of *lakalaka* or *mauluulu* dancers"; *longonafa* is the name of the special drum used in the old war dance called *meetuupaki; aafakihau* is a night festival (*katoanga*) at which recitatives (*lave*) are chanted, it also applies to singing inside the Tui Tonga's house at night for his entertainment.

The Tongan dictionaries give a number of terms for entertainments concerning which I obtained no further information; for example, *ahohiva* (a heathen festival), *citu* (a heathen feast) equated by one informant to *kotoni, ola* (a heathen feast), *ufe* (a heathen play), *poula* (a heathen night dance), *pomee* (a night dance), *fakasinifa* (a heathen song of females only), *fakanukuatea* (a heathen song), *fakatau* (a heathen song), *fakatete* (a heathen feast), *hapai* (a present of food at the feast called *tautau*), *hea* (a heathen dance, a dance of chiefs), *lave* (a heathen game), *sipi* (a heathen dancer), *taumafafonua* (the last of several feasts and ceremonies), *tuaeitu* (a Tongan feast).

ETIQUETTE AND HABITS

The following notes cover miscellaneous acts which do not fit under the other headings of this paper, yet which are of interest socially:

> They have a singular custom of putting everything you give them to their heads, by way of thanks. Very often the women would take hold of my hand, kiss it, and lift it to their heads. (18, vol. 1, p. 221; 30).

Their mode of salutation is by touching their noses together; and, unlike the Ota-

[11] Possibly this is a mispelling of *liki*. See page 67.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

columns of yams in the following manner: four poles, about eighteen feet long, were fixed upright in the ground, to the depth of a few feet, at about four feet distance from each other in a quadrangular form; the spaces between them, all the way to the top, being crossed by smaller poles about six inches distant from each other, and lashed on by the bark of the *fow* (species of the Hibiscus); the interior of this erection being filled up as they proceeded with yams; and afterwards other upright poles were lashed on to the top with cross pieces in like manner, still piling up the yams; then a third set of poles, &c., till the column of yams was about fifty or sixty feet high, when on the top of all was placed a cold baked pig. Four such columns were erected, one at each corner of the *malái*, the day before the ceremony, and three or four hundred hogs were killed, and about half baked. The following day the hogs were carried to the king's *malái*, about a quarter of a mile off, and placed upon the ground before the house, as well as four or five wooden cars or sledges full of yams, each holding about five hundred. While this was doing, and the people assembling from all quarters, those who were already arrived sat themselves down round the king's *malái*. Occasionally some of them got up to amuse themselves and the rest of the com-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

pany by wrestling with one another. The king and his chiefs, all dressed in plaited *gnatoo*, were already seated in the house, viewing what was going forward. The company being, at length, all arrived, and having seated themselves, the king gave notice that the ceremony was to begin. The young chiefs and warriors, and those who prided themselves in their strength, then got up singly, and endeavoured in turns to carry off the largest hog: when one failed, another tried; then a third, and so on, till every one that chose had made a trial of his strength. To carry one of the largest hogs is not a thing easy to be done, on account of its greasiness as well as its weight; but it affords a considerable share of diversion to see a man embracing a large fat baked hog, and endeavouring to raise it on his shoulder. As the hog was found too heavy for one man's strength, it was carried away by two, whilst a third followed with its liver. They were deposited on the ground near Tooitonga's *malái*, where the men waited till the other hogs were brought. In the mean time the trial was going on with the second hog, which being also found too heavy for one man, was carried away by two in like manner; and so on with the third, fourth, &c., the largest being carried away first, and the least last. The second, third, fourth, &c. afforded more sport than the first,

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAP. IX.

Island of Hoonga—Curious cavern there, and how first discovered—Anecdote of the person who first discovered the cavern—Description of the sport of shooting rats—Popular tale of the origin of the Tonga islands—Finow's return to Vavaoo—General *fono*, and seizure of several chiefs—Stratagem used to secure Cacahoo—Several of the prisoners taken out to sea to be sunk; their conversation on the way—Conduct of Cacahoo whilst sinking—Conduct of the widows of the deceased, particularly of the widow of Now Fahoo—Description of the plantation of Mahe Boogoo—Popular tale of what happened at this plantation in former times—Tonga song—Abundance of a peculiar fish found here—This plantation given up by Mahe Boogoo, and conferred on Mr. Mariner by Finow—Mr. Mariner's providential escape from a shark—A dead spermaceti whale found off one of the islands—Their method of making ornaments with its teeth—Anecdote exemplifying the high estimation in which whale's teeth are held—Still greater value of them at the Fiji islands—Arrival of Cow Mooala from the Fiji islands.

FINOW, having at this time no business of importance on which to employ his attention, resolved to go to the island of Hoonga, lying at a small distance to the southward of Vavaoo, in order to inspect the plantations there, and to recreate himself a little with the sport of shooting birds and rats. Mr. Mariner, as usual, formed one of the party. On this island

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

there is a peculiar cavern, situated on the western coast, the entrance to which is some feet beneath the surface of the sea even at low water; and was first discovered by a young chief, whilst diving after a turtle. The nature of this cavern will be better understood if we imagine a hollow rock rising sixty feet or more above the surface of the water; into the cavity of which there is no known entrance but one, and that is on the side of the rock, several feet under the water, which flows into it; and consequently the base of the cavern may be said to be the sea itself*. Finow and his friends, being on this part of the island, proposed one afternoon on a sudden thought, to go into this cavern, and drink cava. Mr. Mariner was not with them at the time the proposal was made; but happening to come down a little while after to the shore, and seeing some of the young chiefs diving into the water, one after another, and not rise again, he was a little surprised, and enquired of the last, who was just preparing to take the same step, what they were

* The depth of the entrance below the surface differs of course with the different heights of the tide: when Mr. Mariner entered, it was about six feet below the surface: Jeremiah Higgins says it was two or three feet when he went in, at nearly low water, at which period it is very difficult to enter, on account of the swell.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

discover, being directed by the voice, Finow and the rest of the company, seated like himself. Nevertheless, as it was desirable to have a stronger illumination, Mr. Mariner dived out again, and procuring his pistol, primed it well, tied plenty of *gnatoo* tight round it, and wrapped the whole up in a plaintain leaf: he directed an attendant to bring a torch in the same way. Thus prepared, he re-entered the cavern as speedily as possible, unwrapped the *gnatoo*, a great portion of which was perfectly dry, fired it by the flash of the powder, and lighted the torch. The place was now illuminated tolerably well, for the first time, perhaps, since its existence. It appeared (by guess) to be about 40 feet wide in the main part, but which branched off, on one side, in two narrower portions. The medium height seemed also about 40 feet*. The roof was hung with stalactites in a very curious way, resembling, upon a cursory view, the gothic arches and ornaments of an old church. After having examined the place, they drank cava, and passed away the time in conversation upon different subjects. Among other things, an

* Jeremiah Higgins thinks it was not near so high: he had the light of the sun setting opposite to the entrance, and refracted through the water. Mr. Mariner had a superior light, from his torch.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

probably covered: and even if it were not concealed it would transmit no current of air inwardly unless the tide were going out, which he thinks was not the case. At the time Higgins was there the weather was perfectly calm, not a breath of wind stirring; consequently, the influx of air must have been occasioned by the descent of the surface of water within: on the other hand, when the water rises the air must rush out. This cavern therefore may be said to respire like an animal; the rise and fall of the tide acting as a diaphragm, and the above-mentioned narrow passage as a breathing hole. Jeremiah Higgins also heard the story of the young chief and his mistress, which perfectly accorded in all the material points with what is told above: it appears from his narration as well as from Mr. Mariner's, that the natives give this account of the two lovers as a piece of true history, not a romance. There is a sort of shelf at the farther end of the cavern and high up, which is pointed out as having been used for a bed-place.

Finow and his party having finished their cava, dived out of the cavern, and resumed their proper dress: after which they proceeded across the country, and got into the public roads, to amuse themselves with the sport of shooting rats. These animals are not so large

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

feet,) made of reed, headed with iron-wood: they are not feathered, and their great length is requisite, that they may go straight enough to hit a small object; besides which, it is advantageous in taking an aim through a thick bush. Each individual in the party has only two arrows, for, as soon as he has discharged one from his bow, it is immediately brought to him by one of the attendants who follow the party. The bows also are rather longer than those used in war, being about six feet, the war-bows being about four feet and a half; nor are they so strong, lest the difficulty of bending them should occasion a slight trembling of the hand, which would render the aim less certain.

Finow and his friends having finished their shooting excursion, and taken some refreshment, directed their walk at random across the island, and arrived near a rock, noted by the natives as being (in their estimation) the immediate cause of the origin of all the Tonga islands. It happened once (before these islands were in existence) that one of their gods (Tangaloa) went out fishing with line and hook: it chanced, however, that the hook got fixed in a rock at the bottom of the sea, and, in consequence of the god pulling in his line, he drew up all the Tonga islands, which, they say, would have formed one great land; but the

2; Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

was obliged to give up the design altogether. It was suspected that Finow would have been very angry on hearing her intention, but, on the contrary, he praised it much, and approved of it, as being not only a meritorious act of bravery, but a convincing proof that her affection for her deceased husband was great and genuine.

After this transaction all the Vavaoo chiefs paid remarkable attention to Finow, not failing to send him frequent presents of cava, *gnatoo*, &c., and this they were the more anxious to do, as, being the richest men in the island, they were apprehensive that, in case their conduct displeased Finow, he might form another conspiracy against them, with a view to deprive them of their possessions; for they now found by woful experience, that he was not a man to be trifled with, and that his honour was not safely to be trusted to.

The king now spent a considerable portion of his time in country excursions, for the purpose of shooting *calai*, of which sport a description has already been given. About this time a canoe was dispatched to the Hapai islands, for the purpose of procuring a quantity of fish, several species being there found in much greater abundance than at Vavaoo, or, at least, there is a much better opportunity of

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

concealed by the folds that go round the waist. There is some little difference in the way in which females adjust their *gnatoos*, but the chief distinction of their dress is a small mat *, which they wear round the middle, and is about a foot in breadth. Pregnant women, and old women, wear their dress in front so as to cover the breasts. Children are not encumbered with dress when at home till they are about two years old: when they go out, they have a piece of *gnatoo* wrapped round them.

Having bathed, oiled, and dressed themselves, the chiefs hold cava parties, at which women seldom attend, for as they are no great cava drinkers, they generally form a circle of their own, and eat a meal; they take cava, however, at the same time, in a small quantity; whilst the men, on the contrary, take a large quantity of cava, and most of them very little food, as they generally eat a hearty meal about the middle of the day. The morning cava party usually lasts from two to five hours, according to the pleasure of the chiefs. After cava, the old men generally retire to their houses to sleep, or to amuse themselves with farther conversation. The younger ones follow the example or wishes of their superior chiefs, and make an excursion

* It would be considered highly indecorous and contrary to the tăboo for females to appear without this mat.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

with them to some distant part of the island; and whilst an entertainment is preparing for them at the plantation of some friend or relation, they amuse themselves at some game, or, perhaps, in inspecting the building of a canoe, or a large house, or examining the state of the plantations; or in sailing about, if near the sea, or in fishing; or in practising dancing and singing. In these excursions the unmarried women generally accompany them. The married women, and those who choose to stay at the *mooa*, in the mean time employ themselves in one or other of the occupations suitable to their sex, or, if their husbands make an excursion to another island, they usually take a trip with them. The very young girls are generally employed in the early part of the day in making wreaths of flowers, which they have been out to gather in the morning before sun rise, while the dew was yet on them; for, being plucked at that time, they remain longer fresh.

Sometimes they amuse themselves with walking near Licoo * where there are many romantic spots; at Vavaoo for instance they often visit the cave of Tootawi and the beach of Mo-

* Licoo is the name given to the back or unfrequented part of any island, which is generally bold and rocky, and not fitted for the entrance of canoes. Some parts of the Licoo at Vavaoo were particularly romantic.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

fooe, places celebrated in the song p. 320. Concerning the person after whom the cave is named, it may be interesting to give the following account, which Mr. Mariner often heard from the natives.

A considerable time before the revolution of Tonga, when Voona was governor of Vavaoo, there lived at the latter place a *mooa* whose name was Tootáwi. He was a man of a solitary and reflective disposition; to indulge his humour, he would often take with him provisions and retire to the northern or unfrequented part of the island near Licoo, and there saunter about among the rocks and caverns of the shore for two or three days together. He was so much in the habit of wandering over craggy and dangerous places, that it was said he could climb rocks and ascend frightful steeps with a facility beyond the power of any other human being. On one occasion he was absent so long from the *mooa* that his friends were apprehensive some misfortune had befallen him; and they commenced a search, expecting to find his body lying at the foot of some precipice, down which in an evil hour he had fallen. No vestige of him, however, was to be seen; and after a long time spent in the fruitless endeavour to discover his remains, they imagined he must have been devoured by a shark whilst bathing, and with this reflection they returned

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

POETRY

INTRODUCTION

Tongan poetry, when not sung, is delivered as a sort of recitative, the last syllable of each line or verse being strongly accented. Since comparatively little attention is paid to the length of the line the method of reciting is to slur normal accents, until the last is reached. In singing, accents are slurred, syllables lengthened or shortened, to fit the tune.

Rhyme is of great importance. One rhyme is carried through verse after verse of a long stanza, and it is on these rhyming syllables that the strong accent rests. The end of a stanza is often marked by a recurrent word or refrain. Of such words *tupa* (perhaps the name of a shell-fish) is of frequent occurrence. A new stanza usually rhymes on a fresh sound. Many rhymes are on the last vowel only, but just as many are on the last two vowels. If the last two vowels are rhyming the interposition of a consonant does not destroy the rhyme. For instance *ai* is felt as a rhyme to *ali*, although in ordinary conversation *ai* is almost a diphthong.

In some poetry there is a rather elaborate parallelism as illustrated in the poem of Ulamoleka (p. 84). There seem to be here at any rate the germs of the highly developed parallelism characteristic of the great Hebrew poetry. In not a few poems length of lines is more carefully attended to. The closing *tangi* in the story of Tongamauluau and Kulakehahau shows a skillful and well balanced use of lines of different length (p. 41).

E Tongamaulu'au	Ah Tongamauluau
Ke ke ha'u,	Do thou come,
Kuo hela 'a Kulakehahau,	Aweary is Kulakehahau,
Pea ne fekau	And he orders
Keu tangi atu,	That I plead
Ke ke 'ofa mai na'aku manatu.	That thou love us lest I pine rememb'ring.

The Tongans are appreciative, but critical, audiences. If there is an occasion on which several speakers address a gathering there is no doubt in their apprisement of merits. This or the other delivered the speech that was *malie* (graceful, forceful and appropriate). During a dance every once in a while a man or a woman will leave the group of spectators and approach a dancer whom he judges to be performing especially well, and tie a ribbon or handkerchief about his or her arm or neck. Criticism does not stop at individuals; this or the other band of dancers bears the palm in the judgment of the spectators.

This critical faculty, so freely and justly exercised, has evidently a long history of regular cultivation. Dancers, choirs, poets all vied with one another to win the approval of chiefs and people. The rivalry of poets is well seen in the poems of Falepapalangi and Mamaeaepoto (pp. 65-73).

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 386 over the branch of a tree so that the mat forms a loop hanging down to a convenient height. A pole is put through the loop, and manned (or "womanned") by several people who turn the pole round, thus twisting the strainer up tight and expressing the pigment which runs into a receptacle placed to catch it. This mat in the course of twisting is subjected to a great strain but is hard to break. The expression is used of a lazy person who, although he is the subject of many admonitions and rebukes, is yet very hard to shift.

[461 626]

539 287 426 **129. Maamaa a hiki papa:** Shifting the tapa board is light.

The *papa* is the long hollow board, or rather wooden structure, used in printing designs on the native cloth. It is fairly heavy and requires two or three people to lift it about. The idea of this expression is that one who wants to borrow one of these printing boards for cloth making in his own home finds no difficulty about securing the necessary help to lift it, but when it comes to returning it to its owners there are constant difficulties in the way.

539 286 735 **130. Nae li ki fe hoo geeji kahi?** Where did you throw your *kahi* shell?

The *kahi* shell (*Arca scapha*) is used as a scraper in the preparation of the native cloth. This phrase is a reply to one who goes to beg cloth from another. What did you do with the shells for making scrapers that you have not got a stock of cloth for yourself? The expression is not confined to those who beg cloth, but is extended generally to those who find themselves in want of a commodity which they might reasonably be expected to supply for themselves.

539 386 193 571 **131. Tai e oko atu:** The coloring matter will run on, that is, the coloring matter with which one part of the cloth is stained is that with which the adjoining part will also be colored.

This expression is used as a reproof and warning to those who jeer at the misfortunes which have come upon another. Just as the color on one section of the cloth is repeated on the next and each part in turn comes to be stained, so will he who today scoffs at the afflictions of another find himself in his turn involved in the like misfortunes. It is applied especially to the infirmities of old age. The strong man may laugh today at the weaknesses of age, but his own turn will come.

539 386 517 **132. Tuu tai:** Coloring standing, that is, a thing in which is the coloring matter used in staining the native cloth.

This phrase is not properly classed as a proverbial expression but is always written and felt as a single word, meaning beautiful, handsome, whether of physical feature or of conduct.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

round the districts, in a time of scarcity, and order the people to dress a certain quantity of provisions for him by a limited time; with which he lays up a store for himself, and his wives and household; and leaves others to get what they can.

They often drink the Kava from break of day to eleven or twelve o'clock at noon, till their attendants are completely tired of waiting on them. They then go and lie down, and sleep for two or three hours; when they rise, they bathe, walk among the plantations, or amuse themselves in wrestling, boxing, or any other way that pleases their fancy; but particularly in bathing, playing in the water, and shooting of arrows. Bathing is a very favourite amusement, in which they generally indulge two or three times a day. Both sexes often play together in the water at the following diversion: they fix two posts, about a hundred yards distant from each other, in a depth of water about four feet, near the shore, and midway betwixt them is placed a large stone. Then dividing into two companies, the game is, which side can first tug the stone to their own post. In playing at this diversion with them, I have seen numbers at the bottom of the water together, hauling and pulling the stone different ways, with all the eagerness that contending parties, in the northern counties of England, exert themselves to drive the shinney to its goal. When a diver returned to the surface, for breath, another of his party instantly

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

often divert themselves, viz. shooting rats, I became, after a time, almost as dextrous as the natives. To provide for this sport, they take out the kernel of the cocoa-nut, which being burned and chewed, the servants are sent to strew it in places near the road, in fences, and in hollow trees. Meanwhile the chiefs, with bows and arrows, take their station near, and making a squeaking noise exactly like the rats, these animals soon come out to feed upon the nuts, when the chiefs, ranged in order each for his turn, shoot at them for a wager; he that kills the most, in the same number of shots, wins the game.

They are a very active people, yet they often spend whole days, when they have no particular employment, in luxurious indolence. These days they generally close in dancing and singing; of which they are peculiarly fond.

The chief will send round the district, and collect together thirty, forty, or fifty young people of both sexes, to dance with his attendants by the light of tomais, or torches, formed, as we before showed, from the unctuous bark of the cocoa-tree.

These dances are very beautiful. Young women of the most graceful figure and comely features assemble on these occasions, their dark ringlets bespangled with aromatic flowers of a peculiar whiteness, their necks and shoulders encircled with wreaths of variegated flowers, tastefully strung to-

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

512
592
527
461
old alike have simply flopped down on the soft matted floor and fallen soundly asleep.

Swift twilight, then darkness, closes round the village. The women potter round the houses attending to a few
512
517
evening tasks before they follow the children to sleep. The men bathe and dress in cool, clean shirts and *vala*. Then they sit out of doors talking to friends or else, led by the rhythmic beating of stone on stone as *kava* is crushed, they find their way to a nearby house where a *kava*-circle is being formed. The night drifts by as they drink and talk, talk and drink. And the stars are already low in the sky when the circle breaks up. The men quietly make their way home. A baby stirs in a nightmare sleep or a dog barks excitedly at passing shadows. But, for a short time at least, the village is at rest waiting in suspense for another day to bring its hot sun and its round of common tasks.

512
461
527
The tempo of village activity is speeded up before the week of Christmas and New Year. Two days before Christmas we made the following notes:

(533) There is a slowly-developing crescendo of excitement in the village as Christmas Day approaches. Every night for the past week the youths and maidens of the village have been practising until past midnight the songs that they are newly composing to sing about the village on Christmas Day. Those more talented who also possess some musical instrument are equally busy in tearing to shreds the quietness of a village evening. They have grouped themselves together in what is politely

(534) called a "string band." The noise that comes down wind suggests that this "band" consists of a number of reedy mouth organs, a lone guitar, and a violin with two of its three strings missing.

(412) For all the people the working-day starts very early. This morning at four a.m. for instance, the woman in the house nearest us was busy cutting the long grass about her house with the huge three-foot bush-knife that serves the villager for all purposes from a lawn-mower to nail cutter or razor. All four of her children, the oldest under six, frolicked joyfully about her, pursued by her anguished screams as they forgetfully frisked within danger distance of the swift-cutting knife.

(356) Equally industrious, the men have been going to their bush plantations at dawn and returning just before dusk with heavy loads of food. The women have put in long days washing clothes, cutting grass and sweeping up all the rubbish of months from their house sections. Everything must be neat and tidy for Christmas week.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

time to examine the three great rooms that formed our quarters. There was a depressing air of decayed grandeur about the worm-eaten furniture and weather-stained floor. A large room at the end became our pantry, and through the reed screen that divided it from the rest of the house came the incessant chatter of a Princess and two ladies from the jail who had been told off to attend to our wants. When not engaged in the menial service of washing dishes, they were drinking kava and retailing the local scandal in an atmosphere reeking with the fumes of *sulukus*. Lest I should seem to boast of my single experience of eating from the hand of a Princess of the Blood Royal, I hasten to add that Charlotte, the lady in question, was a member of Fatafehi's household, and since we were his guests, it was in accordance with native etiquette that she should take charge of the culinary department. She discharged her task admirably, and rang the changes on fried chicken, fried sucking-pig, with baked cocoa-nuts and raw fish[1] for dessert, in the most practised manner.

After luncheon Tukuaho became gloomy. Not a soul had come to greet him, and he was not accustomed to unpopularity. During his last visit, he said, his arm had been tired with shaking hands, and his digestion upset with the quantity of kava he had been obliged to drink with his admirers; but now he saw all his old friends pass the door without looking in. Fat Peter's appearance

[1] Raw fish is described by Mariner as a delicacy, and it was provided at my special request. It is cut up into lozenge-shaped pieces, and washed in salt water. When I had overcome the natural repugnance of the idea, I found it rather good. There is no valid reason why raw fish should be nastier than raw oysters, which it much resembles in taste.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

were produced, and in a few moments a large fire was heating the stones in the middle of the cave's floor, and sending up a thick column of smoke to the leafy chimney in the roof. When the stones were red-hot and the oven was ready for its lining, the same invisible hand, in obedience to Finau's shout, poured through the hole a shower of green branches and banana-leaves, that fluttered down like the ruins of Klingsor's garden. The chickens and yams were soon baking in the steam of the leaves, buried under a foot of soil. Picnics such as this are to the idle young Tongan one of the highest forms of earthly happiness.

Fonos and addresses to the Civil servants had done something towards allaying suspicion and discontent in Vavau, in spite of the strenuous efforts of Mr Baker's son and the other Europeans to foster hostility to the Government. The result of the Governor's misconduct in accepting coin in payment of taxes had been to pour into the empty local treasury between £2000 and £3000 in silver. Seeing that the cow-faced sub-treasurer, in addition to his other delinquencies, reported that £6 had miraculously vanished from a saucer in which he guarded the public funds, though the fastenings of the treasury were intact, it was plainly time to remove the whole sum to a place where it could be employed in liquidating the debts of the country rather than those of the local officials. There was a strange display of emotion among the treasury clerks when I announced my intention. The Customs officer, an Englishman, enlightened me. The nobles of Vavau were Home Rulers to a man, at least in so far as their money was concerned. They held that every dollar-

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

826 sesses all these perfections will be esteemed chief-
like and elegant, and her nose will not matter,
though, if she have that organ flat to the face,
she will be painting the lily. There chanced to
be an illustrated paper on the table, and when we
showed them the wasp-waisted ladies in the
fashion plates they chuckled with amusement and
826 derision. The king, whom I afterwards asked
517 for a definition of female beauty, confirmed all
they said, and added a philosophical explanation
of his own. He said that the human eye de-
manded a sufficiency in the things presented to
it; if they were insufficient, it found them ugly.
826 The Tongan dress did not conceal the form as
[291] does the European; consequently Tongan ladies
were expected to be satisfying in respect of the
portions of their anatomy that are exposed to
826 view. We may be content with a simpler ex-
565 planation. In days gone by the chief women got
more to eat than their inferiors, and *embonpoint*
became a chiefly attribute. This mark of high
birth being once stereotyped, men chose their
wives accordingly, and the Tongan dames will
grow stouter with every generation. It is not
a pleasing prospect.

648 At one stage in our negotiations the king
643 began to develop a remarkable capacity for

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

from whence their fighting excursions were made. 712
In besieging such places, they well understood the 725
method of approaching by trenches, and rifle-pits,
defended by earthworks and strong stockades.
They were also well versed in the science of 723
strategy, and knew no mercy to the vanquished 727
who fell into their hands. The contending parties 726
seldom met in a general engagement. The strife
was usually a series of skirmishes. Those taken in 727
war, whose lives were spared, became the *bobulas*,
or slaves, of the conquerors; and these were often
treated with the most refined and horrible cruelty,
at the caprice of their proprietor.

In times of peace, the men were fully occupied 462
in the various pursuits of agriculture, fishing,
sinnet-plaiting, canoe and house building, and,
above all, in voyaging. The women devoted them- [287]
selves to the unceasing manufacture of the *fetaaki*,
or white beaten bark, of which the native cloth
was made, and to the completion of the process
in those *kokaagas*, or united gatherings of the
female sex, where the cloth was fashioned into
one immense piece, and then printed in brown and
black colours, according to the fancy of the maker.
The women did no field or house drudgery in the
Friendly Islands. They never even cooked the [252]
victuals of the family, that being always the duty
of the men. In addition to the manufacture of
gatu, or native cloth, their chief work was to
bring water from the wells; make all the sleeping
and wearing mats for both sexes; also baskets and
bags for various purposes, and any other little
nick-nacks for household use. Feasts, dances, 517
games, wrestling matches, and canoe races, filled
up much of the time of the people. Some of these

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

517 were comparatively harmless, but others were obscene and demoralizing in the highest degree. 526 Boxing, club-fighting, and wrestling, were highly 541 popular. The proceedings were regulated by certain laws, for the proper observance of which managers were appointed, and umpires to decide upon rival claims. These matches were often attended with serious, and even fatal results. The spectators delighted in blows that brought blood; and stimulated the combatants with shouts and yells of applause.

764 The ceremonies observed on the death of any prominent personage, were extremely barbarous. [302] The hair was shaved, or cut close, and the face and [304] various parts of the body cut, bruised, or burned. Affection or respect for the deceased was estimated by the amount of bodily pain endured. Chiefs 764 were usually interred in tombs, constructed of 554 blocks of sandstone, cut from suitable localities by 565 the seashore, where, at a little depth from the surface, layers of hard and durable sandstone are found, even on many of the coralline islands. In several of the ancient burial-places, similar stones, arranged in terraces, surround the whole enclosure. Some of these are of immense size, and seem to indicate the possession, on the part of former inhabitants, either of greater energy than the present 764 race, or of better tools and appliances. The burial [139] places of the Tonguese are always surrounded by the most imposing foliage of the tropics, and placed in sequestered spots. A mound of earth is raised, of dimensions varying with the necessities of the place; and, whenever a grave is opened within the limits of this mound, it is always filled up with beautiful white sand, and never contains more than

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

276
574 long ago, features circular seating of the participants (predominantly men) in a prescribed order, with the person of highest rank at the head of the *kava* circle and directly opposite the *kava* bowl; other positions in the circle and the order of being served are reflective of each man's status. Informal *kava* drinking gatherings, which require no particular seating arrangement or ceremonial ritual, have become increasingly popular over the years under the less stratified, modern social system which has evolved, and are, in fact, a favorite pastime in Tonga at present.

[178]
[565]
[517]

[1, 46-C]

99 Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4.5 (1952-1972) 1974 009 Tonga 009

526
291
5M
142

While life goes on otherwise uninterrupted, the quiet of a Tongan village often witnesses an exciting game of volleyball (*above*, Neiafu, Vava'u), or behind the scenes, a game of pool (*opposite*: 'Ohonua, 'Eua)—both of which are favorite pastimes in Tonga.

[528]

Ko e taha eni e ongo faiva sipoti manakoa 'i Tonga, 'a e voli polo 'o hange ko ia 'i he ta 'i 'olunga (Neiafu), pea mo e hoka 'o hange ko ia 'oku ha 'i he ta 'i he tafa'aki 'e taha ('Ohonua, 'Eua).

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

142
291
504
517

[caption is on p. 86]

621 many of these remarks are caused by resentment at the
794 success of the Mormon Church in gaining new adherents.
798 Moreover, while there is some ill-feeling towards the Mormon Church as an institution, there is no condemnation of particular individuals merely because they belong to the Mormon Church. People are far more critical of those who show little involvement at all in the activities of any congregation than they are of any persons for being adherents of a particular denomination.

Church Membership and Status-striving Activities

794 It is a religious duty to participate in congrega-
[775] tional and denominational activities, with damnation in
[624] the afterlife and public disapproval on earth as sanctions
[554] for attendance. Besides this, however, congregational activities are important social events, providing an arena within which individuals engage in status-striving activities.

602 The majority of village women, of all denominations,
562 spend most of their free time among kin, either at their
[512] own homes or visiting at the homes of close kinswomen.
[461] When a woman organizes a work party, for example, women of the local kin group with which she is affiliated will
562 form the basis of the work party. Similarly, young men
517
883

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

562 517 883 526 do not necessarily associate with members of their own denomination; instead, they spend most of their leisure time in the company of others of their age. During the winter football season they are fully engaged in the activities of the village football club, and in the summer they serve as cheering sections to the girls' 571 basketball teams. They also do a lot of 'eva pē ('just going around') away from their home village, seeking scope for their courting activities.

562 885 582 794 276 574 Ordinarily, however, by his late twenties a young man has married and begun to settle down. From then on, the time that he spends outside his own household but away from income-producing activities is almost entirely spent in the company of other adult males of his congregation, often at a kava-drinking circle that meets at the home of 794 one of the group.[7] This is especially true of members of 562 574 Motulahi's Free Wesleyan congregation, which is a large 276 enough congregation to sustain a kava group that meets almost daily at the home of the man who serves as steward 794 of the congregation. A man also prefers to cooperate in 562 economic activities beyond his own household with members 476 of his own congregation (possibly because this provides a sanction for their acting in good faith). For example, I

---

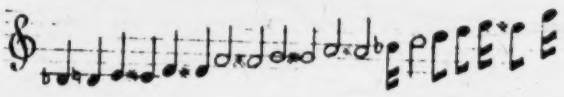
7 Beaglehole gives an excellent account of kava activities in village life (1941: 112-123).

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

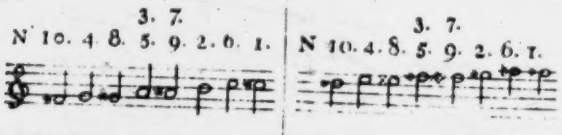
repeats these relationships at a slightly different pitch.[17] This would be quite in line with a Tongan aesthetic principle which values "repetition in a slightly different way" in order to challenge a listener's power of instantaneous transformation and thus experience the parallel (Kaeppler 1971 a). This principle is found repeatedly in Tongan poetry and dance movements, but is not found in melodic line except when the same melodic contour is played successively on noseflutes with slightly different tonal relationships. The "decorative"[18] high and low notes found in the lst and 10th pipes, as well as the near repetition in the intervalic structure, would appear to express another aesthetic concept found in vocal music, that is, decoration of the basic melodic contour. In traditional Tongan vocal polyphony there was a *fasi* (melody), *laulalo* (drone), and up to four decorative, i.e., nonessential parts (Kaeppler 1972: 2—3). Although the melodic line itself was simple and repetitive, the complete musical product could be rendered complex and interesting by additional parts. The panpipe, although it had only three main pitch relationships, could be made more complex and interesting by a repetition of these pitch relationships at a slightly different pitch level, which, I submit, is a form of "repetition in a slightly different way", as well as a "decoration" of the basic melodic contour. The arrangement of the pipes would produce, in effect, a successive, rather than simultaneous, "polyphony".

Steele concluded that the pipes produced a series "sufficient for an infinite number of airs" (1775: 70) which he represented as follows:

Furneaux panpipe, p. 70:



Banks panpipe, p. 78:



Fifths above the supposed fundamentals, produced by a gentle blast.

Tierces, or tenths, above the supposed fundamentals, produced by a stronger blast.

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

as a woman beating tapa in one house will join her rhythm to that of the women beating tapa in houses around her. Aesthetic complexity by the addition of parts which in themselves were simple was encouraged by the social structure (rather than a complexity achieved by a more specialized individual). The complex and interesting musical product required the participation of several unspecialized individuals, who by their very participation sanctioned the stratified social system. The panpipe made it possible for one person to emulate this musical conception and thus use a similar kind of music in a nonchiefly or individual context.

The second line of evidence follows from the relative number of panpipes and noseflutes over time using specimens in museum collections for which the provenance is known. As shown above, panpipes were relatively abundant during the second voyage of Captain Cook. Others can be traced to Cook's third voyage and there is mention in Labillardière. In the 19th century they disappear from the record except for the five-pipe variety which may, by that time, have become mainly a toy. On the other hand, Tongan noseflutes, whose provenance is Cook's second voyage, are at the most only four in number (Oxford, Göttingen, and two depicted in Volume I of the Stone drawings from the Leverian Museum, one of which is now in Vienna [Kaeppler, in preparation, a]). One can be traced to Cook's third voyage (Berne), and for one the voyage cannot be determined (Vienna). All six of these have the placement of holes distinctive of early Tongan noseflutes, i.e., three holes on the upper surface of the flute (one near each end and one at the middle), one hole on the under side (opposite the middle hole), and one hole on each side surface of the flute (one between the middle and nose hole and one between the middle and end hole)[20]; see figs. 10 and 16 left. Often they were beautifully decorated with geometric designs and occasionally wrapped with braided coconut fiber. This small number of examples suggests that they may, indeed, have been used mainly in the service of chiefs and there were not many superfluous ones around. Webber made a drawing of a man playing a noseflute but he did not make a drawing of a panpipe in use. This may be because he usually depicted the affairs of chiefs, or he did not see a panpipe being played, or he did not consider it important.

Tongan noseflutes in museum collections that do not come from

A /see pp. 125 and 127--Analyst/

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9

333 412 237 of a sting-ray fited upon a piece of wood, served as a polisher; for small work they make use of Sharks teeth and Shells.

Tillage The Instruments for *Tillage*, in which they may be said to vie with Europeans, are nothing more than Pickets, or Stakes of different lengths according to the depth they have to dig, they are flaten'd and sharpened to a edge at one end and the largest have a short piece fastened transversely a little above it, for pressing it into the ground with the foot. With these, though they are not more than from two to four inches broad, they dig and plant ground of many acres in extent.

721 *War and Weapons* The art of War is not unknown to these people though perhaps they practise it as little as any nation upon earth; for except their occasional disputes with Fidge[e], before mentioned, they seem to have no Enimies round them. Their Weapons are clubs of defferent sorts, in the making, or rather Ornamenting of which they spend much time, Spears and darts; they have bows and arrows but they seemed to be designed only for amusement and not as a Military weapon.[1]

642 *Goverment* Of the nature of Goverment we know no more than the general out line, a subordination is established among them that resembles the feudal system; but of its subdivisions of the Constituent parts and in what manner connected to form one body politic I confess my self totally ignorant.[2] Some have told us that the power of the King is unlimited and that the life and property of the Subject is at his disposal; but the few circumstances that fell under our observation, made more against than for a dispotic Goverment though we saw instances of both, and some that clearly shewed that the lower order of people have no property but at the will of their masters.[3] On the other hand *Marriwaggy*, Old *Toobough* and *Feenough*, acted each like petty Sovereigns and frequently thwarted the meas-

[1] They shot pigeons with them, as an aristocratic diversion.

[2] Not without reason, considering the complicated nature of the Tongan power-structure. I do not annotate some of the sentences that follow, in which Cook repeats statements already annotated, however erroneous they may be.

[3] '. . . we saw instances, where present Passion seem'd to be their only guide, & where had they killd the Objects of their wrath they woud have been amenable neither to justice nor to a superior; but as the common people by no means appear dispirited or any way broken by harsh or cruel treatment, It seems pretty certain that the mildness & benevolence of their masters, insures them against an ill use of their Authority. . . . Upon the whole the Friendly Islanders have the appearance of enjoying most of the Advantages aris'ing from a regular Government, few even surpass them in the great order they observe on all Occasions, in their ready compliance with the Commands of their Superiors, & the great harmony which subsists amongst all ranks; & none in the general sweetness & mildness of their tempers. We see many things worthy of imitation, few of blame; wou'd to God they cou'd say the same of us, but we have left them an incurable disorder which will for ever embitter their quiet & happy lives, & make them curse the hour they ever saw us.'—King.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9

These two last dances met with universal approbation from the spirit and exactness with which they were perform'd. The spectators who were no doubt perfect judges of the propriety of the several parts could not withhold their applauses at some particular ones, which indeed might be observ'd by a stranger who never saw the diversion before: for though through the whole the most strict concert was observ'd it might be said that some of the motions absolutely spoke the Language that accompanied them, if we allow there is any connection between motion and sounds. At the same time it should be observ'd that though the musick in the chorus and that of the dancers correspond, yet constant practice seems to have a great share in effecting the exact time they keep; for if any of them are accidentally interrupted they never find the smallest difficulty in entering upon any part of the dance or song, and their perfect discipline is no where better shown than in the sudden transitions they make from the ruder motions and harsh music to the soft airs and gentle motions.

The place where the dances were perform'd was in an open space amongst the trees just by the sea, with lights at small intervals in the inside of the circle. The concourse of people was pretty large though not equal to what assembled in the forenoon when the marines excercisd, at which time some of our Gentlemen guess'd there might be about five thousand, others a great many more and some fewer.

WEDNESDAY 21st. The wind w in the morning in fresh breezes with cloudy weather and some rain, but afterwards clear with gentle breezes from the S°ward but at night brisker. This change of weather seem'd to be indicated by the great heat for two days past and the Lightning to the westward last night. Few of the natives on board and little trade for provisions carried on.

THURSDAY 22d. The wind Southerly. Gentle breezes with fine weather. A good many Indians on board but little trade for provisions. We confind two Indians for stealing one of whom had a large wound on his cheek made with a boat hook by one of our people who was sent in pursuit of them.

FRIDAY 23d. The wind ssw in the morning and afterwards se. Moderate breezes with fine weather. A good many Indians on board who brought some fruit and hogs, of the last of which we have such a number that we are oblig'd to salt them, and Feenou set out for Va'vaoo this morning to bring another supply, perhaps to prevent our going to Amsterdam which he is still averse to. The two Indians were reliev'd on bringing a hog as a ransom, but their boat was

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

where we found several people bathing, but the water was too salt to use and we always found that what they call'd good water was almost intolerable to us, a sure proof that they are entire strangers to it generally speaking. In one place where it still continued to run out from under the rock it was somewhat fresher, & might probably be still more so the longer the water ebb'd, but it was difficult to say whether this would have been a constant source supposing the tide never reach'd it, or only a certain quantity wash'd from the earth during the time the last remaind in these vacuitys and mix'd with it.

When we return'd in the evening Poulaho had a pretty large hog dressd for our entertainment, with Yams, Cocoa nuts &c and afterwards provided us with as good a lodging as his house could afford, giving us mats to sleep on and cloth to cover us, but our host had made himself so happy with some wine & brandy we had brought that it was a matter of much indifference to him where he lay.

FRIDAY 27th. The Wind ESE. Moderate breezes fine weather. In the morning Poulaho told us he was going presently to perform a ceremony call'd Tooge[1] which they do at the death of their relations and even in other distressing situations. It is done by striking the highest part of the cheek bone alternately with the inside of the fists for some time, which abrades the skin and makes the blood flow out in a considerable quantity, at the same time accompanying it with a dolefull kind of cry or weeping. We were glad to have an opportunity of seeing a custom so universal that perhaps eight in ten of them retain the marks of having perform'd it, and great numbers of them very recent, at which time it looks as if a hollow circle [were] burnt in; but were disappointed at last, for though he went to an inclosure where a large circle of people were sitting to drink Kava we saw no other ceremony than he and the people that were with him putting some green leaves about their necks, which they broke and threw down when they came to the place. We had seen them drinking the Kava sometimes at the other islands, but by no means so frequently as here, where it seems the only forenoon employment of the principal people and the drinking it is confin'd to them only, unless they chance to prepare a little more than is wanted when it is distributed to any person indifferently. The Kava is a species of pepper[2] which they cultivate for this purpose and esteem it a valuable article, taking great care to defend the young plants from any injury and commonly plant it about their houses. It seldom grows to more than a mans height, though I have seen some plants almost double that, and

[1] *tuki.* [2] *Piper methysticum.*

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

wash their hands with a piece of the plantane tree broke and rubb'd over them, the husk of the cocoa nut or any thing that has moisture, which serves on all occasions and is a lesson necessity (from the scarcity of water) has certainly taught them.

The situation of their houses was mention'd before; but notwithstanding their method of life requires they should be much scatterd, that each man may cultivate his own ground, they are very fond of associating together, so that it is common to find several houses empty and the owners conven'd in some other one or a convenient spot in the neighbourhood, where they recreate themselves by conversing and other amusements. Their private diversions are chiefly singing, dancing and music perform'd by the women. When one, two or three or more women sing in concert & snap the fingers it is calld oo'bai,[1] but when there is a great number they divide into several partys each of whom sings on a different key which makes a very agreeable music and is call'd Heeva. In the same manner they vary the music of their flutes by playing on those of a different size, but their dancing is much as when they perform publickly. The dancing of the men (if it is to be call'd dancing) although it does not consist much in moving the feet as we do, has a thousand different motions with the hands to which we are entire strangers. They seem to be as numerous as all the steps in our different dances taken together, & perform'd with an ease and grace which is not to be describ'd, nor conceiv'd but by those who have seen them. It appears indeed to be one of the principal articles of their education, for the boys when very young are constantly practising them and at no great age perform them as dexterously as those that are grown up. There are some others which may be calld their house diversions practic'd by the grown people, one of which nam'd Kaka'habo[2] is exactly upon the same principle as our Cup and ball. It is done by fastening a bit of Tortoise shell, four inches long & one broad with the ends turn'd up above an inch & fork'd, across the end of a small rod about four feet long, near the other end of which a small round gourd shell is fix'd with a string just of a sufficient length to allow its being thrown into the tortoise shell. They also fasten the hard round seed of a plant larger than a musket ball to each end of a string about two feet long,

[1] *'uke.* The word has changed its meaning, being now equivalent to 'lullaby'. But it must always have had a wide significance: Mariner says (II, p. 217) *'Oobe.* This kind of singing is always accompanied with the *fango-fango*, (or nose-flute). The subjects of the song are much the same as those last described, but the style of music is different, being more monotonous and grave.' The songs 'last described' were 'descriptive of scenery . . . descriptive of past events, or of places which are out of their reach, such as *Bolotoo* and *Papalangi*.'

[2] Mariner calls the game 'habo', and says it was practised by women only. *Hapahapo* is to keep on throwing something up and catching it.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

of Saliva. The Servant then put each portion together into the wooden bowl & poured a certain quantity of Water upon it according to the number of Guests, the proportion of about half a pint of the prepared Liquor falling to the share of each. He mixes the Mass & the water well together with his hands & then puts a handful of the Fibres in through which he strained the Liquor; when this was done he had a fresh Bundle of Fibres brought to him which he put into the bowl & thereby took up a sufficient Quantity of the Liquor for one person's Share, & strained it into the Cup which was brought to him by the other Servant, who carried it first to the Chief himself except there was a stranger in Company to whom they always gave the preference, after that to the old Men, & so on till every one had his Cup & if there was any left it fell to the share of the person who prepared it. They give the root another Infusion which affords them a second Cup, but much weaker than the first. The Cup which is made of one leaf is just made for present use & then thrown away. In this manner did Powlohow, Fatafee & Phenow regale themselves very morning apart from each other, surrounded by inferior Chiefs who seemed to be their immediate Dependents, & it seldom happened but that some of our people (C. Cook, Omai) attended their Levee & partook of their Beveredge to which they were soon reconciled, notwithstanding the Method of preparing it was not the most delicate: it has a strong bitter sickly taste peculiar to itself, it exhilerates the Spirits & is perfectly intoxicating tho' it partakes more of the Effects of Opium than of Spirituous Liquors, causing Drowsiness and Stupidity; we never saw any of these people intoxicated by it nor have they the scaly Skin & sore Eyes by which the Otaheiteans Chiefs are distinguished, who drink an immoderate quantity of it & often get intoxicated with it, for there they drink it genuine that is with nothing but Saliva & the Juice of the root,[1] which may be compared to raw Liquor, whereas the People of Tongataboo mix water with it and so make it into Grog.

As the Island produces Breadfruit, Yams & Plantains in great abundance & that with very little trouble or Labour to the Inhabitants, they lead a very easy and an indolent Kind of Life as indeed all the South Sea Islanders do; being perplexed with no Cares for the morrow, they find sufficient Leasure to pursue their amusements & enjoy the present Moment; during the Heat of the day they often repose themselves in the Shade or sleep in their Houses upon matts.

[1] It would have been impossible to produce a 'drink' in this manner. What Samwell means, presumably, is that a person would chew the root for himself and swallow what he could get out of it thus. This practice was certainly followed by some addicts.

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

535 enjoy the dance. The dance itself is judged in four ways. First, the
535 poetry is judged by how skillfully the poet has included the necessary
517 speech-making elements within the structure of the poetry and how he
[538] has metaphorically alluded to the people and history of the village
that performs it. Second, the movements are judged by how skillfully
they allude to the poetry and reflect the rhythm and mood of the
associated music. Third, the dancers are judged on their overall
performance, including the concept of ve'ehala or ve'etonu, that is, do
they all step to the same side and together or do they move in
opposite directions and bump into each other. They are also judged
by the movements of the arms, including moving together as a group
and on the contrast between the women's graceful movements and the
men's virile movements. Fourth, the dancers are judged individually
mainly on the proper movements of the head (see Chapters III and IV)
and their ability to 'act and look alive' while they dance.

The spectators feel māfana, 'inwardly exhilarated,' at a good performance. They tie scarfs or other decorations on the performers while they dance or tuck money into their clothing. They move their heads in concert with the performers and occasionally stand up and dance themselves. They shout, "mālie, mālie faiva" in appreciation, until finally by the end of the performance the dancing space is alive with the movements and song of the performers and the empathetic movements, applause, and shouts of the spectators.

A [See category 116, pp. 26-102--Analyst]

535 Summary of Leg Kinemes

These eleven leg kinemes are those that are significant in the Tongan dance system. From this inventory we can now make statements about the use of the legs in this tradition. First we can say that the legs are always flexible at the knee. The main movements of the legs are straight steps to the front, back, or side, and the flexing of the knees. Leaps--that is, jumps from one foot to another--or large steps are not significant categories in Tongan dance. Perhaps this is because full use of the upper leg would be required for a leap or large step.

This limited use of the upper leg is probably most important for a characterization of Tongan leg movements. Although the upper leg certainly does move when taking steps or bending, it moves always as a result of movement of the lower leg and never for itself. In the earliest accounts of Tongan dance the dancers are described as being clothed between the waist and the knee. It was not considered in good taste to expose this part of the body and it was this part of the body that was tattooed in ancient Tonga.

535 291 [304]

To move the upper legs by themselves is called fakamahae.[1] Anyone, and especially a woman, who moves this part of her legs is considered to have very poor taste, and indeed, to be even vulgar.

516 517

---

[1] This word usually refers only to women.

535 is free. This limited use of the upper legs can also be seen in sitting dances. We have seen in L_{11} that the correct sitting posture has the upper legs almost parallel and close together, and the right lower leg is crossed in front of the upper legs which makes the upper legs inconspicuous.

192 The lower leg is called Ya'e, and includes the foot and lower leg.
521 The upper leg is called alanga, but I have never heard this word used in conversation. When speaking about dance Tongans speak only about
192 what the Ya'e are doing. They translate Ya'e as 'feet' but never as 'legs.'

535 In Tongan dance terminology the upper leg does not exist. Movements of both the upper legs and hips are repressed. Conversely, if
535 a dancer at a very informal occasion wants to be risque, the way to
517 do so, is to move the upper legs and the hips. On the occasion of a moonlight picnic for example, when informal dancing is called for, the most applauded dancer is one who uses her legs in any way not accepted by the Tongans as 'correct.'

535 This ideal is relaxed in the dancing of young girls. For example,
517 one Tongan choreographer set the movements of a dance for four young
858 girls and included one movement where they touched the inside of their knees with their hands. When this dance was taught to a grown woman, this movement was changed by the original choreographer, to touch the upper part of the thigh.

535 Summary of Arm Kinemes

We can characterize Tongan arm kinemes as using mainly the lower arm. The upper arm is usually only the means by which the lower arm is moved to the correct position in order to make the appropriate movements. All groups of arm kinemes--rotation, wrist extension and flexion, palm facing, finger flexion, arm position and touching are centered on the lower arm. Aesthetics, meaning, and interpretation alike, all depend mainly on the lower arm. When speaking of arm movements, Tongans refer to what is done with the nima--the hand and lower arm. They do not refer to the upper arm. Although there is no vulgar connotation in moving the upper arm (as there is in moving the upper leg) the movements and concepts about movements usually [517] exclude the upper arm. When movements are made with the arms close to the body--physiologically accomplished by the upper arm being close to the body--they are called haka nonou or haka momo-iiki and are considered difficult to do and therefore are more applauded. These movements contrast with haka lolos--movements which are done with the arms extended--that is, with the upper arm away from the body. It should be noted that extended arm positions, taking the upper arm away from the body are more often used by men than women.

Summary

An inventory of Tongan dance kinemes, that is, units analogous to phonemes, has now been presented. These are the components from

poetry that the movement accompanies. This is not because present day Tongans do not understand the words, although in some cases they do not. In the hiva, one or two phrases of poetry are repeated over and over. Many different dance motifs are used to accompany these verses. The movements do not interpret the words and there seems to be no association between words and movements in this dance. The emphasis of this dance is on the beauty of movement. It is not the dancer's interpretation of the words that is admired, but rather her skill in the interpretation and performance of the dance motif. The movement motifs are known to the spectators and the dancer is judged on the execution of the movement. This judgment is usually phrased in terms of gracefulness, softness, and the proper use of the head.

Some of this beauty-of-movement concept is carried over to dances which interpret poetry. But in these latter, the emphasis is on interpretation of the words rather than interpretation of the dance motif.

There seems to be a cultural preference for interpretation by allusion rather than statement. This may be the explanation for the lack of names of dance movements or motifs. To name a motif is too obvious; a name might limit motif use to one concept. Or the movement, if associated with a name, might convey that named concept when no meaning is wanted. Movements, then, in Tongan dance, are not named. But movements can be brought to mind by words.

535 Conclusion

Movements either interpret poetry or create beauty. They present an abstraction to which dancer and spectator alike may attach meaning of their own choosing or which they can enjoy aesthetically as movement. Dance is a physical, mental, and aesthetic activity to by enjoyed at one or more levels simultaneously. Some dance genres aim primarily at one or another or these possible levels. But even those that begin as an intellectual activity, often create an intense emotional atmosphere and can become an aesthetic experience for both dancer and spectator. When verbalizing this emotional aspect of dance, the Tongans say that they feel māfana--that is, 'inwardly warm or exhilarated.' Spectators also feel māfana, especially during the performance of their favorite dance motifs which they say they can feel kinesthetically. It is common to see spectators move their heads along with the dancers, and quite often spectators will stand up and join the performers, even though they do not know the dance, because of their inner feeling of māfana.

535
517

[472 cont.]

175 123 [648] before me, and took that opportunity of running off. My friend joined me immediately; and we concluded, that if there was something treacherous or vicious in the behaviour of this fellow, our separation was also imprudent, because it had furnished him with an opportunity to exercise his talents. We continued strolling about for some time, without [473] any sinister accident, and returned to the trading-place on the beach, where we found almost all the 175 571 [517] people whom we had left. Many of them were now seated in different little groups, which appeared to be so many separate families, and consisted of persons of various ages and sexes. They were all in conversation, of which no doubt the arrival of our ships furnished the topics; and many of their women amused themselves either with 175 142 302 singing or playing at ball. There was a young girl in particular, whose features were more regular than common, her eyes sparkling with vivacity, her whole frame admirably proportioned, and, what was most remarkable here, her long jetty hair hanging down in 175 524 graceful curls on her neck. This girl, lively and easy in all her actions, played with five gourds, of the size of small apples, perfectly globular; she threw them up into the air one after another continually, and never failed to catch them all with great dexterity, 175 533 184 at least for a quarter of an hour. The musical ladies again performed the same tune which we had already heard at Ea-oowhe, the different voices falling in with each other very harmoniously, and sometimes 175 535 292 124 439 joining all together as in chorus. Though I never saw the natives of these islands dance, yet we may add this amusement to the list of those which they are acquainted with, from their own accounts and gestures whenever they sold us their aprons made of stars of

[190 cont.]

101 and have the same social and mercantile disposition. All these then
175 might be added to the Friendly Islands. They are in general remarkably
well inhabited, particularly those which we visited. Tonga-Tabboo
is almost one continual garden, and Ea-oowe, Namoka, and the adjacent
islands, are some of the most fertile spots in the Pacific Ocean.
161 We shall therefore be extremely moderate in our calculation, if we
175 suppose the number of inhabitants in all these islands does not exceed
182 200,000 persons. Their healthy climate, and its excellent productions,
164 keep them free from those numerous diseases, to which we fall an easy
175 prey, and, according to their plain and simple notions, satisfy all
517 their wants. Their progress in the arts, beyond other nations in the
53 South Sea, and particularly their refinement in music, serve to pass
175 away their time agreeably, and give them taste to acknowledge and
discern the beauties of their own exquisite forms, from whence one
181 of the strongest ties of society is derived. Their general turn is
609 active and industrious, but their behaviour to strangers more polite
175
[499] than cordial. Their peculiar propensity to trade seems to have sub-
stituted this insincere civility, in the room of real friendship, from
171 those interested and mercenary principles which commerce inspires. Both
175 [191] these characters are in direct opposition to those of the Taheitians,
[181] who delight in an indolent life, and are too hearty in their affections
[577] to confine them to outward shew and specious appearances. However
there are many luxurious individuals (arreoys) at the Society Islands,
whose moral character appears to be somewhat depraved; whilst the people
of the Friendly Islands seem to be ignorant of vices, which can only
have arisen from a superior degree of opulence.

122 The canoes which accompanied us from Namoka returned at noon

/152 cont./

241 461 [512] [519] are capable of working intensively four to five hours at a stretch, but do not always do this consistently. While the majority visit their plantations several days a week and the rest of the time devote themselves to other occupations (for example, fishing, copra-production), there are in every village some natives who visit their small, half wild plantation at most once a week and spend the remaining days chatting in various houses of the village. Still another "minority," on the other hand, have the ambition to lay out truly "model plantations"; they devote almost allavailable time to their very neat and precisely laid out plantation, spend the night there in a specially erected hut for days, weeks or months, or move there altogether with their families. The Tongans work on their plantations [476] by themselves or, especially in case of larger projects, (403)

403. For example, clearing to lay out a yam field.

in groups (a one-time arrangement or a regular kautaha. (404)

404. See p. 137.

241 461 198 [417] Although nowadays the Tongans, in their opinion, give a considerable amount of work and time to their plantations, most of these appear less cared for than in old times. The "neat fences of reed" (405)

405. J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. pp. 163, 178, 222.

which in former times enclosed the plantations have long since disappeared and have been partly replaced by single, rusty barbed wires. 241 178 461 Within the plantations themselves one often misses the ancient Tongan love of order; some of the /153/ plots, with the exception of a few "model plantations," seem disorderly, and tall weeds proliferate. The reason for this is, of course, that today the Tongan generally does not live on his plantation and, because of the sometimes rather long

/272 cont./

524 526 [177] [517] the Archipelago European games replaced the ancient Tonga ones, some of which were by that time already forgotten or seemed uninteresting. Probably people play less today in Tonga than they did in the past, for the church takes up much of the Tongans' time, and the energy required by their work (on plantations and at copra production) is now greater than it was in past centuries. Nonetheless, the idea of play, though in new forms, has been preserved on the Islands.

/273/

6. THEIR KNOWLEDGE

861 178 [871] In ancient Tonga the natives learned everything they needed to know for living through oral tradition, unsystematic guidance and their own experience. To judge from ancient sources, there were no "schools" of any kind (not even for priests and seafarers). The young natives of both sexes and all ranks grew into their life tasks and in this way acquired all the knowledge they needed to regulate their affairs.

Today too most Tongan men and women do not obtain the knowledge they need for their everyday life systematically; they simply imitate their elders; they learn chiefly by "seeing and taking part." Tonga--as in the past--is an island country with a predominantly farming population. Only a few trades are more widespread and, in contrast to the past, only a small group of natives out of the total number of inhabitants are engaged in newly created professions. (744)

744. See pp. 358-361.

From the standpoint of present economic life, an increase and change in their knowledge as seen from the European point of view is scarcely necessary, since in the villages children as a matter of course grow into the activities of their parents (who are "masters of their world"), and on the small islands there are few opportunities of applying the school-acquired knowledge of the whites.

871 177 799 Nevertheless, schools were established in the Archipelago as early

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

369 166 factors have been major forces motivating the migration of rural residents into Nuku'alofa. Employment opportunities are available 369 166 to some individuals who have friends or close relatives already employed, an attraction to potential migrants. However, surveys of 464 migrated urban residents indicated that only two percent had moved as a result of acquiring urban employment. In addition, cash income earned by this same group from urban employment was only a small proportion of total earnings. However, most agreed the possibilities of increasing their cash income were greater in Nuku'alofa than in rural agriculture, and that infrequent part-time employment was preferable. Government-owned services and operations represent the greatest source of urban employment, although church and privately sponsored work (i.e., teaching, housekeeping, and miscellaneous part-time labor) also exists.

369 166 A more significant factor, motivating migration to urban areas, is rather vaguely defined as "urban attractiveness." In the case of Nuku'alofa, the excitement and variety of town life is [517] especially attractive to younger age groups. Social clubs, dances, sporting events and other amusements, including the seemingly endless opportunities for kava, make village life appear to be comparatively dull to individuals confronted with daily agricultural and [554] domestic chores. In addition, urban living is a symbol of prestige, indicative of a higher living standard. Young men most frequently migrate for these reasons although women are not to be excluded. 369 464 461 This has resulted in a large number of unemployed and underemployed urban youth, characterized by young people loitering in the market areas and in amusement facilities.